

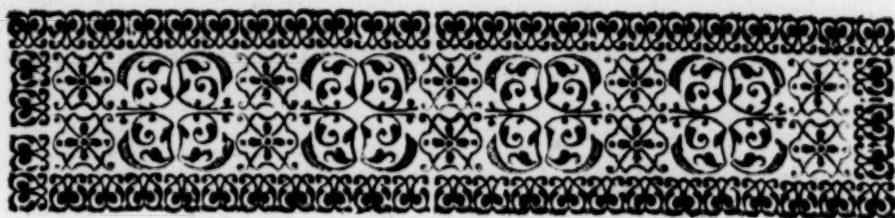
186. K. *England, Church of*
Reformation
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An Historical
ACCOUNT
Of the Several
ATTEMPTS
FOR A
Further Reformation
OF THE
ESTABLISH'D CHURCH.

By the Author of the *Essay for Allaying the*
Animosities amongst British Protestants.
JOHN PLATTS.

L O N D O N;

Printed for J. NOON and T. SHARPEY at the
White-Hart near Mercers-Chappel in Cheapside.
M. DCC. XVI.





A N
Historical Account
Of the Several
A T T E M P T S
F O R A
Further Reformation
O F T H E
E S T A B L I S H ' D C H U R C H .



AFTER the Corruptions and Idolatries of the Church of *Rome*, and that Tyranny which she exercised over the Consciences of Men, were become an intolerable Yoke, too heavy for the Nations to bear any longer; after several Complaints had been made, and some Attempts to reform her self had proved unsuccessful: several Countries nobly threw off its Yoke, and attempted to *reform* themselves. *Germany*

first took fire from *Luther* and *Melancthon*; *Switzerland* and *Geneva* soon followed under the Conduct of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*.

And after them, *England* under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, by the Direction of *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*.

The Writings that defended the Necessity of a *Reformation* in the Church of *Rome*, were greedily embrac'd : the *Corruption* in Doctrine and Worship became intelligible ; and the *Corruption* of *Manners* crept into all the Spiritual Orders becoming scandalous, not one of them had Interest to stop the *Reformation*. *Politick Reasons* were possibly the main Cause that brought the Court into it (tho the Divines were acted by more sincere Regards) which was the Occasion of the unhappy Clog afterwards, that it could not be carry'd on to those Degrees, which were the Hopes, the Expectations and Prayers of many wise and good Men from that time to this very day.

For the *Persons* who engaged in the Reformation were acted by two very different *Principles* and *Motives* : The one part were such as consider'd the Reformation only in a *Political View*, and were sufficiently pleas'd to see the Power of the Pope broken, and his Yoke cast off ; and yet at the same time having been bred up in Veneration for Ceremonies, and a Fondness for Pomp and Magnificence in Worship, were desirous to retain many of those Customs and Usages, both in Discipline and Worship, which they had before observ'd : hoping to preserve to themselves a better Opinion among the Papists, and expecting to draw greater Numbers of them over to the Reformation. * They imagin'd that retaining the external Face of things, near to what it was before, would make the People come in more easily to the real Change made in Doctrine.

But, on the other hand, another Set of Men engag'd in this Cause, consider'd these Matters in a different View. They affirm'd the Holy Scripture to be the proper Rule of a Church-Constitution in Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship ; and therefore desir'd to reduce theirs as

* Vid. Burnet, Vol. 3. p. 305.

near as might be to that *Rule*. They were satisfy'd that this Pomp and Ostentation in Worship was what the Scriptures were perfect strangers to: They remember'd how they had minister'd to the Corruptions and Superstitions of Popery, and took notice of the laudable Example of *Hezekiah*, who brake in pieces the brazen Serpent (tho of Divine Appointment) when the People abus'd it to Idolatry; which they thought a cogent Argument for laying aside human Inventions (or at least allowing those to omit them that dislik'd 'em) when so abus'd. Besides, they did apprehend, that this outward Resemblance made the old Root of Popery still to live in the Peoples Hearts; and tho the People conform'd more readily to the present Changes, yet it left them more ready to fall back to Popery, [as the Event shew'd in Queen *Mary's* Time.] For the avoiding which Inconveniencies, they thought it best to fix as great an Opposition between them and Popery as might be. Besides, many of them were pleas'd with the Discipline and Worship of Foreign Protestant Churches; who, they thought, had carry'd the *Reformation* farther than seem'd intended amongst us: and they thought it more subservient to the Cause of true Religion, to bring our selves nearer the Foreign Protestants, than to symbolize with our avow'd Enemies the Papists. These were the Considerations that induc'd the Famous *Hooper, Bradford, Sampson, Humphreys, &c.* to press a further *Reformation*. And from these two Parties, who appear'd from the first of the *Reformation*, are sprung the two Parties amongst *English* Protestants, who are known by the Names of *Conformists* and *Nonconformists*; for these unhappy things, which were the Cause of Complaint at the beginning of the *Reformation*, are yet continu'd, and the Heats and Animosities about them carry'd higher (if possible.) So that the Body of *English* Protestants, tho agreeing in the same Articles of Religion, and the same Object and Ordinances of Divine Worship, yet differ about human Inventions, Rites, Ceremonies, and Circumstances of Discipline and Worship. Various have been the Methods made use of for each other's Conviction; some of which, it must be confess'd, have not been always the most *decent*, nor have they met with expected Success.

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It has been urg'd on the one hand, by those of the Establish'd Church, that the things impos'd appearing *indifferent in themselves*, ought therefore to be comply'd with. It is reply'd by the *Dissenters*, that since the *Imposers* only judg them *indifferent*, but not *necessary*; whereas they judg them *doubtful* and *inexpedient* in their Use, yea, *unlawful* in the *severe Imposition* of them: they think the Argument is much more conclusive for the *Removal*, than for the *Continuance* of these things; because it is much more easy for the *Imposers* to take off those things, which they cannot judg necessary, and procure Peace that way; than for others to force their Consciences to comply with those things, the *Lawfulness* of whose Use they doubt, and do firmly believe their *Inexpediency*. The *Dissenters*, who have generally been the *Sufferers*, have not been wanting by *Rational Methods* to procure the Friendship of their Brethren of the Establish'd Church; and to satisfy them that the Grounds of their Dissent were not the Effects of *Humour* and *Obstinacy*, but the Result of *sober Reasoning*, and the *best Light* they could procure.

They have *intreated* their Friendship by *passionate* and *earnest Petitions* for Peace; at *other times* they have *enter'd* into *friendly Debates*, and *trac'd* the *Argument* through its several Branches. They have call'd upon them to prove their *imposing Power*; to shew their *Commission* from Christ, empowering them to make such positive Constitutions about Rites and Ceremonies, which should bind the *Consciences* of those that dislike them.

At other times they have examin'd the Particulars themselves, which, under pretence of *Decency* and *Order*, have been impos'd; and have endeavour'd to shew how little they contribute to either.

They have more especially labour'd upon the *Hardship* and *Inexpediency* of *imposing* them with such *Severity*, so as to exclude from Christian Communion those that, by the Laws of Christianity, had an unquestionable Right to it: nay further, so as to expose them to *Bonds* and *Penalties*, as was the Case formerly. They have shew'd how great a stranger the Scripture is to the things in Debate: and yet the Contentions and Causes of it continue, and those that are travelling towards the same happy End, yet *fall out by the way*.

It

It has been the *Desire* and *Prayers* of good Men of all Parties, that these Differences might be accommodated, that there might be a better Union amongst good Men; many happy *Expedients* have been propos'd, many remarkable *Providences* seem to facilitate it: A Sense of *Common Danger* had loudly call'd on them; they have not wanted *Critical Conjunctures*; the *Calls* of *Authority*; the *Promises* of *Superiors*: and yet, thro the *Per-verseness* of Men too much influenc'd by *Popish Counsels*, the *Blessings* of Union have been deny'd us, these happy Views and Prospects being disappointed, and *the things that belong unto our Peace are yet hid from our Eyes*. The great Principle of the Dissenters, in the Defence of which their Arguments have been produc'd, is the *Necessity of a further Reformation*: That a Christian Church may be in such a state, as to need a *Reformation*, is acknowledg'd by those that reform'd and separated from the Church of *Rome*; and the Enquiry proceeds further amongst our selves, to consider whether the Establish'd Church amongst us needs not a *further Reformation*. This is the *main Principle* of the *Dissenters*; they look on the Establish'd Church as a *true Church* of Christ, and bless God for the Reformation she has accomplish'd, and heartily subscribe to the *pure Articles of Doctrine*, which she professes; (nay, *adhere* more closely to them, than many who call themselves her Sons.) But considering, that as *Corruptions* came on by degrees, so it is not to be expected that a first Attempt should clear it so far as may be necessary; they believe there is room left for further *Improvement*, that Length of Time has discover'd more *Inconveniences*, and that a further Reformation of those things complain'd of, would render it a more *Perfect* and *Scriptural Constitution*.

But tho the Arguments in Defence of this Principle have been urg'd with great Strength of Reasoning; yet the Contention still continues, a *narrow bigotted Spirit* remains, to the great Reproach of Religion.

I have thought it might not be useless to the Cause of a *further Reformation*, to lay before the *Publick* the Sense of those *Bishops* and *Divines* that were engag'd in the *Reformation* of the Church of *England* upon the Matters in Debate; together with the Judgment of many

ny eminent *Bishops* and *Divines* of that Church from the first *Reformation* to this very day.

To trace the several *Essays* for a further *Reformation*, the Progress that has been made, how it has tended to the *Satisfaction* of *Dissenters*, and what has been the Causes of its *Disappointment*: and this I shall endeavour so to describe, as not to exasperate the Passions of Men, but to persuade the easing of those *unhappy* things that have been the *Bones of Contention*, that we might no longer bite and devour one another for Matters of *doubtful Disputation*; and that the *Establish'd Church* might be built on so large a *Foundation*, and the Terms of her Communion might be so truly *Scriptural*, as that no more might be requir'd to make a *Man* a *Member* of that particular Church, than *Jesus Christ* has requir'd to denominate him a *Member* of his *Universal Church*.

In treating upon this propos'd Subject, I shall endeavour to make it appear, that it was not the *Design* of the first *Reformers* to make their *Reformation* the *Standard* of future Times, as if it was unlawful to reform further; but that it was only the hard *Necessity* of the Times, in which they were cast, just coming out of the *Darkness* of *Popery*, that made them stop where they did; whilst at the same time they waited with great *Impatience* for better days, wherein they might carry on this *Reformation* to further degrees: and they signify'd their Hopes, that they who came after wou'd do more, and go further than they had done. And I shall shew also, that it has been the Desire and Judgment of some of the wisest and best Men in the *Establish'd Church* from that time to this. The Method I propose to myself, in treating this Subject, shall be,

First, To lay down the Sense of the Church of *England* as to a further *Reformation* in general; whereby it will appear she own'd the *Grand Principle* of the *Dissenters*.

Secondly, I shall lay before my Reader some of the particular Causes of the greatest Complaint, which the *Dissenters* desire may be redress'd.

Thirdly, The Sense of the first *Reformers*, and the later *Bishops*, *Doctors*, and eminent Members of the *Establish'd Church*, in reference to those things which are now Matters of Debate; how far they were willing to redress

redress them, and how far what they offer'd wou'd have tended to the Satisfaction of *Dissenters*.

First, I begin with the Sense of the *first Reformers* of the Church of *England*, in their *publick Capacities*, as to a further Reformation.

Now they, who first engag'd in this Affair, were very sensible of the *Weakness* and *Imperfection* which necessarily attend *Human Schemes*; and believ'd that Length of Time, and further Consideration, would discover those Imperfections and Inconveniences, which first Thoughts and Attempts did not observe and reach to.

And thus they express themselves: *That there never was any thing by the Wit of Man so well devis'd, or so sure establish'd, which in Continuance of Time had not been corrupted* *.

They therefore suppos'd a further Reformation still necessary; and therefore having drawn up a Book in 1549. tho labouring under several *Imperfections*, yet such as the Weakness of those Times would bear, they in 1552. made another Review of it, cast out several things *erroneous* and *offensive*, both in the *Prayer* and *scrupled Habit*; such as *Albs*, *Copes*, *Vestments* (which they who scrupled them, call'd the *Array of the Popish Priesthood*) yet they were sensible, that there were still some things that might require a further *Review* and *Reform*, when the Times would bear it; as appears by this Passage in the *Preface concerning Ceremonies*: where, having taken notice of some that were against the Continuance of Ceremonies, they say; *Furthermore, such shall have no just Cause with the Ceremonies reserv'd, to be offended: for as those are taken away, which were most abus'd, and did burden Mens Consciences without Cause; so the other which remain are retain'd for a Discipline and Order, which upon just Causes may be alter'd and chang'd* †. And had that *Pious Prince* liv'd, and the *Reformers* foreseen the Inconvenience which follow'd, they would undoubtedly have taken them away. Here was no *Assent* and

* Vid. *Preface to the Common-Prayer*, 1549.

† Vid. *Preface to the Common-Prayer*, 1552.

Consent to all and every thing contain'd in, and prescrib'd by the Book, much less any Et-cetera Oath never to attempt any Alterations; but the burdening of Mens Consciences, and the Abuse of the things themselves, was confess'd and allow'd a good reason for the removing and taking away things of this nature.

But, Secondly, as they had granted that the things complain'd of were alterable, and the burdening Mens Consciences, and the Abuse of the things themselves were Reasons why they might be alter'd or taken away; so the first Reformers have also, in expresse Terms, confess'd the want of a further Reformation in the Establish'd Church, and their Desires of it; and that in a Passage that has stood in all the Books of Common-Prayer unto this day, which is at the beginning of the Form of Commination to be us'd on *Ash-Wednesday*: 'Tis there observ'd, that *there was a godly Discipline in the Primitive Church, by which notorious Offenders were brought to open Penance, and punish'd in this World, that their Souls might be saved in the Day of the Lord: Instead thereof, till the same Discipline be restor'd (which thing is much to be wish'd) it is thought good to use these general Sentences of God's Cursings against impenitent Sinners.* It is plain from this Passage, that the Church of England confesseth and bewails the want of a godly Discipline, and wishes its Restoration; which cannot be without a further Reformation, there being several things in the Constitution of the Church which hinder this godly Discipline: To which Reformation there seems a great Backwardness; for, as Bishop Burnet observes, *While they in their Offices lamented the not having a Publick Discipline in the Church, as it was in the Primitive Times; they have either made no Attempts at all, or very faint ones for restoring it* *.

But I proceed, Secondly, to lay down the particular Causes of Complaint.

1st, The Dissenters find fault with the Narrowness of the Constitution, that none can be admitted now to ex-

* Vid. Burnet's Pastoral Care, Preface, p. 14, 15.

ercise the Ministerial Office, unless ordain'd by a Diocesan Bishop.

2dly, They find fault with the Administrator of Discipline.

3dly, They except against some Habits us'd in *Worship*, and some *Ceremonies* and *Rites* of *Worship*; such as the Cross in Baptism, the Appointment of *Godfathers* to answer in the Name of the *Child*, and *excluding* the Parent from contracting and stipulating for his Child; together with *Kneeling* at the Lord's Supper, urged with that Severity, as to exclude all those from Communion who cannot submit to these Impositions.

1st, The Dissenters find fault with the *Narrowness* of the Constitution; that none can be admitted to the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, unless ordain'd by a *Diocesan Bishop*. Now this is an Innovation both in regard of the Judgment and Practice of the first Reformers: They who drew up the Book called, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, seem to look upon Bishops and Presbyters as invested with the same spiritual Powers in their Office by Jesus Christ; and expound those Qualifications as belonging to a *Presbyter*, which are expressly said to belong to a *Bishop*, 1 Tim. 3. Titus 1. and expound that Care of the Flock, there said to be given to the *Bishop*, as committed to the *Presbyter*. *Cap. 4. de Ecclesia & Ministris*. They were frequently call'd of the same Order, as appears by *Cranmer's Paper* at the End of *Stillingfleet's Irenicum*. And as they believ'd they had the same Power given them by Jesus Christ, so the same Power was given them by the *Ordaining Act* in the Church of England: to both it was said, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, without mentioning any Distinction in the Office; and in this Case it continu'd till 1662. and till this time they continu'd to admit Persons to exercise the Ministerial Function in the Church, who never had any such *Diocesan Episcopal Ordination* as is now demanded: such as *John Alasco*, *Du Moulin*, *John Morison*, Mr. *Nat. Eccles* of *Harding* in *Hertfordshire*, &c. But for a further Account of this Matter, I refer my Reader to a Pamphlet lately publish'd, called *the Judgment of the Church in point of Ordination*; wherein is shewn from the *Offices*, *Rubricks*, and *Practice* of the Church, that she allows in *Presbyters* an inherent Right to ordain.

But, 2dly, They complain of the *Adminiftrator* of *Discipline*, the *Incumbent* of the *Parish* being depriv'd fo much of the *Exercife* of the *Pastoral* Authority, and not fuffer'd to judg of the *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of his *Parifhioners* for *Church-Membership*; fo that he can't juftify the *Sufpenfion* of any unfit *Perfon*, unlefs in a limited time he profecute him in the *Chancellor's Court*. The *Adminiftration* of *Discipline* is *titularly* in the *Bifhop's* hand, who yet by the large *Extent* of his *Diocelf*, and the *Multitude* of other *Employs*, which later *Times* have annexed to his *Office*, is render'd uncapable of the *perfonal Adminiftration* of *Discipline*: fo that it is really in the hands of the *Chancellor*, who is generally a *Layman*; but, whether *Layman* or *Clergyman*, acts independently on the *Bifhop* and his *Presbyters*. And the *Parifh Incumbents* are oblig'd to receive and abide by his *Excommunications*, or *Absolutions*, on pain of *Sufpenfion*. This *Way* of adminiftring can't but be a fenfible *Grievance* to thofe that have any *Senfe* of the *Pastoral Office*, or any *Regard* to the *Purity* of the *Church*: and fome promifing *Attempts* were made to reform it.

That there have many real *Inconveniencies* arifen from this *Caufe*, is too plain to be deny'd: The *Parifh Minifters* have been oft oblig'd to excommunicate a *Man* of *unblamable Life* for a trifling *Occafion*, fuch as *Nonconformity* to a *Ceremony* or a *Gefuture*, or fuch like. They have been oblig'd to absolve or receive into *Communion* an evidently impenitent *Perfon*, becaufe his *Mo-ny* has procur'd him a *ready Absolution*, and a *Commutation* of *Penance*; of all which, *Instances* have not been wanting: or elfe they have been profecuted, becaufe they would not adminifter the *Ordinances* to *fuch*.* That the *Chancellors* do act *independently* on the *Bifhop*, is plain from the *Cafe* of *Dr. Bedel*, *Bifhop* of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh* in *Ireland*; who finding the growing *Inconvenience* of the *Chancellor's Power*, fet himfelf to correct it: and taking to himfelf feven or eight of the *Clergy*, fat in the *Confiftory*; and drew *Bufinefs* from the *Chancellor*. The *Chancellor* fues him at *Law*, and

* Vid. *Mr. Raftwick's Cafe*, at the *End* of *Dr. Calamy's third Volume* of *Defence* of *moderate Nonconformity*.

cast the Bishop; who was so perplext with the Affair, that he thought of surrendring his * Bishoprick.

To remedy the Inconvenience of the Largeness of the Bishop's Diocess, *Choroepiscopi*, or *Bishops Suffragan* were appointed by the 26 of *Henry* the Eighth, and reviv'd in the first of *Eliz.* one or more in a Diocess; who were impower'd to perform all Episcopal Acts, in the Absence and Incapacity of the Bishop by Age or other Hindrance †. Besides, they who drew up the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws, intended to oblige to a stricter Inspection of the Church, than is now used; the *Bishop* or his *Suffragan* was to hold an Annual Synod in his Diocess, with the Presbyters and Parish Priests, to apply apt and proper Medicines to those Disorders that were crept into his Diocess, to treat of all false Doctrines, and determine Ecclesiastical Complaints and Controversies ||. And as Discipline was to be administer'd in the Episcopal Synod, so according to these Laws the Parochial Discipline was somewhat more restor'd, than now it is.

For after Evening-Service the Minister with the Elders were to meet, and amongst other things to call those to account who had given Offence to the Church, that it might be preserv'd pure: First, a friendly Admonition was to be given by grave and sober Men, whom if they heard, God was to be prais'd; if not, they were to lay on them such Punishments as the Gospel had prepar'd for their Stubbornness. And when they came to Excommunication, the Bishop was to be acquainted (I suppose in his Ecclesiastical Synod mention'd before) and if he consented and gave his Authority, it was to be pronounc'd before the whole Church.**

In Reference to the Admission of Church-Members, the Minister was to have notice so long before the Admission, that he might take time to clear their Consciences, that he might deal with them if any thing was done by them

* Vide *Bedel's Life*.

† Vide *Dr. Brett of Church-Government*.

|| Vide *Tit. de Ecclesia & Ministris, Cap. 19. ad finem*.

** Vide *Tit. de Divinis Officiis, Cap. 10, 11. in Ref. Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

wickedly or superstitiously, that was an Offence to the Church : then he shall inquire into their Faith, that he may correct their Ignorance, discourage their Contumacy, and confirm them against doubting ; for to the Table of the Lord none should be taken that is not compleat in the Faith. And if any of those that prepare for the Lord's Supper be weak in any Part of Religion, or wounded in Conscience, he shall have free Access to the Minister, that he may receive Comfort, and the Ease of his Grief :* And upon Satisfaction given to the Minister he was to be admitted, and if need be absolv'd or discharg'd of his Burden. † And in another Place they tell us, That no Man is to be admitted to the Sacraments, till he shall give an account of his Faith in the Church. || The Remissness of Discipline in the ordinary Method, renders such a Reformation as this, or indeed a greater necessary ; but this will possibly be receiv'd better in the Words of a Writer of the Establish'd Church. The Book is call'd, *The Church's Wish for the restoring of Discipline consider'd*. Page 271, 272.

He observes, That the subordinate Officers in our Courts do at present, as all the World see, but ill manage the Power of the Church, converting it chiefly to their own Advantage, with little or no Regard to the Ends of Religion ; insomuch that the Strictness of Discipline is wholly abated, the Exercise of that which is, is corrupted, the Proceeding against Offenders partial and dilatory : and if any Penances are enjoin'd, 'tis with almost no respect to true Repentance, nor is much Consideration of that had in Relaxation of Censures. So many Subterfuges and Evasions are also found in almost every Case, that the good Rules of Discipline seldom take place : Thus he.

But we proceed to the 3d Sort of things that are complain'd of, which are certain *Habits* us'd in Worship, certain *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, and *Circumstances* of Worship ; such as *Kneeling* at the Lord's Supper, the *Cross* in Baptism, *Godfathers* to the Exclusion of the Parents, &c. which they cou'd be glad to see either wholly taken away, or at least left indifferent : It is to them

* Et si plene se Ministro probaverit, si opus fuerit, solvatur.

† Vide Tit. de divinis Officiis, Cap. 7.

|| Cap. 5. de Sacramentis.

Matter of Complaint, that these things shou'd be so severely urg'd, as to exclude those Persons from Communion who can't comply, who yet have a right by the *Gospel-Charter*. They pretend not to condemn those whose Consciences are satisfy'd with them, but they desire the Use of them may not be *impos'd* on them that *dislike* them : And are pleas'd to find the first Reformers of the Church of *England* of this charitable Spirit. They who drew up King *Edward* the 6th's first Common-Prayer Book, 1548. tho they appointed such kind of Ceremonies as are ordinarily to be observ'd, yet shew'd so great Regard to tender Consciences, that in certain Notes at the Beginning of the Book they tell us, *That as for Kneeling, Knocking, Crossing, and such like, they may be taken or left as every Man's Devotion serves, without blame.* Had such a Regard to the Minds of Men been observ'd, (which are as different as their different Ways of Education) we might have been an happy People. Had those whose Judgment approve these Ceremonies, and find them contribute to their Devotion, been contented to *use 'em* themselves, and at the same time suffer'd those that dislike them to *omit 'em*, the Occasion of Complaint had been remov'd.

The second Book of King *Edward*, drawn up in 1552. omitted most of the scrupled Vestments, and requir'd the Bishop to use only a Rochet, and the Minister a Surplice, omitting the Albs, Copes, and Vestment.

The Canons or Injunctions of 1571. forbid the wearing of the Grey Amice, or any Garment defil'd with like Superstition : The Reason here given, equally extends to the *laying aside* or leaving it *indifferent* to those, who dislike any other Habits so *abus'd*.

But we are now to follow King *Edward* to his Grave, by whose Death the Reformation receiv'd a desperate Wound. The Protestants are either hurry'd to the *Stake*, *Obscure* at home, or *Exiles* abroad. As to the Sense of those who stay'd at home, they were of different Opinions ; as for the Exiles, they sufficiently shew'd themselves where abroad, and after their Return home were desirous of a *further Reformation*. But it may not be amiss to give some brief account of the Judgment of those *Exiles*, who were afterwards Bishops of the *English* Church, and the Glories of the Reformation.

The

The most remarkable Church was that at *Frankfort*, too much known by its unhappy Differences, a particular Account of which is published: and upon the whole we may observe,

1st, That they that first arriv'd at *Frankfort*, were such as desir'd a further Reformation.

2^{dly}, The Order of *Geneva* oft refer'd to, tho it describ'd a Form of Administration, yet allow'd Liberty to the Minister to use *that*, or one to the like Effect.

3^{dly}, This Form requir'd the Father, with one Person present, to dedicate his Child, and to make the usual Profession of his Faith, the *Cross* omitted; and the *Table-Gesture* in the Lord's-Supper continued.

4^{thly}, After *Knox* and his Party were driven away, by the Artifices of Dr. *Cox*; the Order agreed upon by all the *English Church* at *Frankfort*, omitted certain Rites and Ceremonies prescribed by *Edward 6th's Book*: and tho these are not express'd, yet if we judg by the Desires of the same Persons when they were returned home, they seem to be those before, and after complained of. For thus they say in Article 5th of Discipline: * *We observe and keep the Form and Order of the Ministration of the Sacraments and of Common-Prayer, as it's set forth by the Authority of the Blessed King Edward of famous Memory, in the last Book of English Service: whereof notwithstanding, in the respect of Times, Places, and other Circumstances, certain Rites and Ceremonies appointed in the said Book, as things indifferent, may be left out, as we at this present do.*

And it is observable, that when *Horn* and *Chambers* object against two Pastors of equal Authority (as the seventh Article prescribes) the other Divines answer; They see † not by the Scripture any Authority given to any one above others, but rather the contrary; and that *Jerom* says, at first the Church was governed equally by many, and the chief Authority was given to one rather by Man's Ordinance, than Divine Authority. But *Queen Mary*, after a short, but bloody Reign, was seasonably removed, and *Queen Elizabeth*

* Vide *Phenix*, Vol. 2. p. 129.

† Ibid. p. 144.

ascends the Throne, to the Joy of all Protestants; and then at the same time appear'd the two foremention'd Parties. Some through Politick Views would depart no farther from Popery, than what was *barefac'd Idolatry*, or the most *gross Superstition*; whilst a sincerer sort consulted pure and undefiled Religion, and were for laying aside all the *Remains* and Footsteps of Popery and Superstition. With the former Scheme fell in, unhappily, the *Queen*, the *Court*, and the *Generality* of those that stay'd at home; with the latter fell in the *Exiles*, but were not able to carry it, as will appear by the Sequel.

The Divines of *Zurich*, who very kindly entertain'd the *English Exiles*, were drawn thereby into a peculiar Sollicitude for the *English Church*; and accordingly hearing of *Queen Elizabeth's* Advancement, *Gualter* one of the Pastors at *Zurich*, a Man of eminent Piety, Learning and Peaceableness, takes the first opportunity to write into *England* to one *Masters* a Physician to the Queen, to press a thorow Reformation. In his Letter he wishes, that they would not hearken to the Accusation of those Men, who when they saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor intirely retained, would use all Artifices to have the outward Face of Religion remain mixed and uncertain; so that while an Evangelical Reformation is pretended, those things shall be obtruded on the Church, which will make the returning back to Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry very easy.

He tells him, he apprehends that in the beginning, while Men may study to avoid the giving some small Offence, many things may be suffer'd under this Colour, that they will be continued but a little while: But says he, afterwards it will scarce be possible by all the endeavours that can be used to get them removed, however it won't be done without great struggling:—Thus he. This great Man was sensible of the Subtleties of the Papists, who study to palliate and excuse what they can't defend; and was sensible that Corruptions that are not removed in the first Zeal for Reformation, become afterwards familiar, and are hardly removed, when the first Zeal is over; and so it fell out with us. This was wrote Jan. 1559. Vid. *Burnet's* 3d Vol.

However, some Reformation was resolved on ; and Divines were appointed to draw up a Service-Book in 1559. and had their Judgment been followed, we might have been more happy than we are ; they seem'd acted by a tender Concern for those, whose Consciences desir'd a further Reformation : And this, I doubt not, would more fully appear, could we have seen the original Draught of the Service-Book, as it went up to the Parliament ; but that we are not like to do.

However, it was such as might have been something satisfactory to tender Consciences, as appears by Dr. *Guest*, (afterwards Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and who was one of the Compilers :) his Letters to Sir *William Cecill* are preserved in the Repository of Mr. *Strype's Annals* ; wherein he gives some account of the Reasons of their proceeding in the compiling of that Book : and, amongst other things, he argues with great strength of reasoning against the incumbring the Service-Book with those Ceremonies, which in *Edward the 6th's* second Common-Prayer Book had been taken away ; and lays down this Position, that Ceremonies once taken away as ill used, should not be taken again, tho they be not evil of themselves, but might be well used : and that for these four Reasons.

1st, Because the *Galatians* were reprov'd of *Paul* for receiving again the Ceremonies which once they had forsaken, *Gal. 6.*

2^{dly}, *Paul* bids us not only to abstain from Evil, but the Appearance of it, *Phil. 2.* and for this *Hezekiah* brake the brazen Serpent, *2 Kings 18.*

3^{dly}, The Gospel is a short word, putting away the Law which stood in Decrees and Ceremonies, and a light easy Yoke delivering us from them ; *Eph. 2. Rom. 10.*

4^{thly}, Because these Ceremonies were devised by Man, and abused to Idolatry : as Christ, with his Apostles, would not wash their hands, because superstitiously used by the *Jews* ; and *Paul* forbid the *Corinthians* to eat Meat offer'd to an Idol, tho an Idol was nothing. And after he had given an account of other things, he proceeds to defend the Draught of the Book, in the Posture of receiving the Sacrament : where after he had defended the posture of Standing from *Ireneus*, *Iustin Martyr* and *Augustin* ; he says, that tho this is the old use

use of the Church to communicate Standing ; yet, because it is taken by some of it self to be sinful to receive Kneeling, whereas it is of it self lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow one way or other, to teach Men that it's lawful to receive either either Kneeling or Standing.

Had this happy Temper been observed, it would have led the way to such further Reformation, which the stiffness of Imposers has render'd impracticable : could they but have preserved this Principle, that those things which Christ had left indifferent shou'd be continued so, and that it might be left indifferent to every Man's Choice to follow the one way or t'other ; this would have made Men easy, by removing the Causes of Complaint.

But when this Draught of the Book came to the Parliament, it met with great opposition, the Ceremonies left out were restored, and it was alter'd for the worse from what it was at first drawn up by the Divines. However *Sandyes* (afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*) writing to Dr. *Parker* (afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) tells him, that he hopes they shall not be oblig'd to use them, only others shall not take them away till the Queen gives such Orders. The State of the Nation was at that time very bad, the generality such as had either submitted to Popery, in Queen *Mary's* Time, or concealed their Protestantism by some trimming Compliances ; and therefore either hated a Reformation, or were not fond of carrying it far, and could not be without that Pomp and Magnificence in Worship that they were used to. The Divines who drew up the Book, were but private Persons, and had no Vote, and but little Interest ; there was not one Protestant Bishop in any of the Sees, but all Popish ones. *Jewel*, in a Letter to *Peter Martyr*, gives him this account, That those Popish Bishops hindred the Reformation, because they sitting in the Upper House amongst the Lords, and having no Protestant Bishops there to refute their Fallacies, they did what they would among Men that were unskill'd in comparison of them. The generality of Men were disinclined, as *Jewel* writes to *Peter Martyr*, April 10. 1559. and laments their want of Zeal and Industry in the Reformation. And in ano-

ther then abouts, he says, they were striving to restore Religion to what it was in the latter end of King *Edward's* Time; but for his part, he could not see that Alacrity of Mind in their Men, as was before in the Papists. They are, said he, now debating about the Vestments; which he calls *Scenical* (or the Habits of the Stage) so that what they two had so often laugh'd at, some Men, he knew not who, for they were not of the Consultation, began to debate gravely and seriously about it, as if Religion could not consist without those Vestments: some cried up a *Golden Mediocrity*, which he was afraid would prove a *Leaden* one. So hearty were these Protestant Divines (who were afterwards Bishops) for a further Reformation; but those Times would not bear it! In another Letter to *Peter Martyr*, dated Nov. 6. 1559. he tells him what Debates were rais'd about the Vestments (which he calls the Habits of the Stage) and wishes they could be freed from them; they were not wanting to so good a Cause, but others seemed to love them: but afterwards he says, these are the Relicks of the *Amorites*, which can't be denied; and he wish'd at some time or other all these might be taken away, and extirpated to the very Roots. Nov. 16. writing to *Martyr*, he acquaints him with the Crucifix yet remaining in the Queen's Chappel; the occasion of which is, he supposes, a peice of secret worldly Policy, but does not approve it. I have laid the Letters together, which pass'd between the Divines of the establish'd Church, and the foreign Divines; because they give a Specimen of the faithful Zeal of many of them for a further Reformation, and give us also Reasons why it went no further: There are many other Letters, referring to other Periods of the Reformation, which serving to illustrate this History, I shall mention them in their proper Periods, from the Copies of them in the Third Volume of *Burnet's* History of the Reformation.

To proceed, we are now about to observe, that the Popish Bishops were laid aside, who had been the greatest Obstruction to the Reformation, and Protestant ones were consecrated in their places; and then one would have imagin'd, the Reformation should have been carry'd on to greater Satisfaction: but alas! a Fondness for Magnificence and antient Customs remained still

still at Court, that nothing more could be done.

But the Correspondence, which had been broken off with *Zurich* for some time, now begins again; and in *Feb. 1560. Jewel* (Bishop of *Salisbury*) writes to *Peter Martyr*, and mentions a remarkable Passage, which shews an unhappy Instance of the Weakness of Men's Minds, in a Fondness for Ceremonies, and a Reason why the Reformation was not carry'd on to the degrees that were desir'd: for tho many of those Divines who had been driven abroad, were sincerely desirous of a further Reformation, yet those that stay'd at home, retained a Fondness for these Papistical Relicks; for there was a Debate started about retaining Images in Churches. Bishop *Jewel* observes, it is not to be imagin'd to what a degree of Folly some Men were carry'd in that matter, who were thought to have a right Judgment in other things: He says, that a Disputation was to be held next day, before some of the Council; where *Parker* (Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) and *Cox* were to defend the use of Images in Churches; and *Grindal* (Bishop of *London*) and himself were to oppose: He could not but smile to think, what grave and solid Reasons would be brought in defence of the Cross. The Success we are not expressly told, but I suppose, they that oppos'd it, carry'd their Point; because they were generally taken down, and *Cox* among the rest (when Bishop of *Ely*) earnestly press'd the Queen to remove it out of her Chappel. However it gives one a discouraging prospect of the state of the Reformation, when the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Head of the Church, must defend these Papistical Relicks. *Sands* (Bishop of *Worcester*) writing to *Peter Martyr*, *April 10. 1560.* tells him, that some Corruptions yet remain, that he had spoken to the Queen so freely about the Furniture of her Chappel, that he had like to have lost his Bishoprick; but he hoped God, in whose hands are the Hearts of Kings, would instead of Confusion give Peace, and free his Church from those Stumbling-blocks: Popish Vestments still remain, but he hop'd they wou'd not much longer; he said it was easy to suggest what hindred, the pretence of Unity caused Divisions.

Jewel (Bishop of *Sarum*) writing to *Martyr*, *Feb. 1562.* wishes, that all the Remains of former Errors, with

with all the Rubbish, and even the Dust that might yet remain, might be taken away.

But our Correspondence with *Zurich* now breaks off, and we're called to attend the famous Convocation of 1562. which compiled the Articles which we now have: where we shall find very noble Efforts for a further Reformation. After they had settled the Articles of Religion, and signed them, they proceeded to treat of Discipline.

And here, *Sands* (Bishop of *Worcester*) offered his Opinion;

(1.) That Baptism might be restrained to the Ministers of the Sacrament.

(2.) That the Collect for Crossing might be blotted out; as it seems very *Superstitious*, so it is not needful. To carry on the same Design, about thirty of the Lower House sent up a Request concerning such things as that House nevertheless agreed not to by common Consent *.

1st, About the manner of singing of Psalms by the whole Congregation, and that all curious Singing and Organs might be removed.

2^d, That none might baptize but Ministers only, and that they might leave off the Sign of the Cross used in Baptism.

3^d, That kneeling be left to the discretion of the Ordinary.

The 4th and 5th refer'd to the taking away the Vestments, disliked.

6th, Refer'd to a mitigation of a Sentence in one of the Articles.

The 7th refer'd to the abolishing all Saints-Festivals, and Holy-days bearing the name of a Creature, or only a Commemoration of them by Sermons, Homilies and Common-Prayer; after which is over, Men may apply themselves to Labour. On the 13th of *February* there were great Debates in the Lower-House upon certain Articles, brought in by those that press'd a further Reformation, which were such as these †.

* Vid. *Strype's Annals*, P. 298.

† *Collection of Records*, N. 74. Vid. 3^d Vol. *Bp. Burnet*, p. 302.
1st, That

1st, That all Holy-days, except Sundays and the Feast that related to Christ, be abolished.

2^d, Refers to the Place and Manner of Reading the Common-Prayer.

3^d, That in the Ministry of Baptism, the Ceremony of *making the Cross in the Child's Fore-head* may be omitted, as tending to Superstition.

4th, That the Order of *Kneeling* may be left to the Discretion of the Ordinary, within his Jurisdiction.

5th, Refer'd to the laying aside the *Vestments* used in Times of Popery. And the

6th, Refer'd to the *Removal of Organs*.

After these Articles were brought in, there arose great Debates ; many protesting they would admit no Alteration of the Orders, Rules, Rites and Regulations already settled by the present Book : There were also publick Disputations, between Learned Men, to the Number of Thirteen.

In Conclusion, the House was counted upon a Division, and this remarkable Occurrence hapned : Those that were for a further Reformation carry'd it by eight of them that were present, being forty three against thirty five ; but when they came to count the Proxies of absent Persons, these made up fifty eight for the Propositions, and fifty nine against them. So that these happy Essays, which would have gone a great way towards the removing the Dissatisfaction of good Men, desirous of a further Reformation, and united the whole Protestant Interest, and freed Religion from the greatest Incumbrances of human Inventions and Ceremonies, by reducing it nearer to the Scripture Original, were fatally lost in the Lower-House, by the Proxies of absent Persons, who had not heard the Debates, or Reasons in defence of them.

But these came to nothing. Presently after this, a *Book of Discipline* was agreed to by the Lower-House, and sent up to the Bishops, but it was there dropt ; for presently after came a Prorogation by the Royal Writ, and so it ended. So that, to the amazement of all considering Men, that Reformation which had been settled by an Act of the State, when there was not one Protestant Bishop in any of the Sees, but all of Queen Mary's Bishops ; and the Parliament such in general as
had

had either comply'd with Popery in Queen *Mary's* days, or been very reserv'd in owning of Protestantism; could never be carry'd further, when all the Bishops were Protestants, and so many eminent Divines desir'd and endeavour'd it. Those who but in the year before were sunk in the Darknes of Popery, or dissembling their Opinion for Protestantism, could never be supposed desirous to carry the Reformation to any great degree of Purity; nay, it's plain they carry'd it backwards, from what it was in the latter end of King *Edward's* days: Their former Practice, but a Year before, would fly in their Face. But, that in this Queen's Reign, when all the Bishops were Protestants, it should be carry'd no further, must be owing to some Reasons, which do not at all tend to the Reputation of those, at whose door they were to be laid. Those who press'd a Reformation further, did not desire any thing to be taken away that defaced the Beauty of Religion, or deformed the Constitution; nothing that our Saviour, or his Apostles instituted, or that render'd the Service more acceptable to God: but only a Redress of such things as their Consciences were dissatisfy'd with, and that those things might be left indifferent, which Christ had left so.

Many indeed did submit, not because they were pleas'd with the things impos'd, but lest the Reformation should decline back for want of Hands to support it. But others still press'd further, of whom we shall hear more afterwards.

The Convocation having finish'd the Articles, and left the Affairs of Discipline and Worship as they found them; there was a Clause in the first Act of Uniformity, empowering the Queen to ordain and publish such further Ceremonies, as might be for the advancement of God's Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence for Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacrament *. Then things being thus settled by an Act of State, but no particular Obligation laid upon People by Assent, Subscription, or formal Declaration to conform thereto, People practis'd still according to their Opinions: which Diversity being taken notice of, the Queen appoints an

* *Vid. Burnet, Vol. 3. p. 306.*

Ecclesiastical Commission of six Bishops, to agree upon certain Orders, to procure an Uniformity; wherein, amongst other things, a Form of Subscription was required, promising to observe an Uniformity in Laws Establish'd*. This revived the former Debate, and each Side applying to foreign Divines, their Letters afford us some curious Observations, relating to the Cause of a further Reformation, which deserve to be taken notice of.

On the 16th of July, 1565. *Horn* (Bishop of *Winchester*) acquaints them with the Debates that were risen concerning the Habits: the Act of Parliament was made before they were in Office, so that they had no hand in it. The Bishops had obeyed, as thinking the matter indifferent, and lest Enemies should come into their Places, if they should desert. Upon this there was a Division formed; some thought they ought rather to be put from the Ministry than obey the Law, therefore he desires their Opinion: They were in hopes to procure an Alteration next Parliament, but he feared there would be great Opposition from the Popish Party. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, which was wrote in the name of all the Bishops, *Bullinger* and *Gualter* write both to the Bishops and Dissenters, (as we may call them.) To the Bishops, they lament the unhappy Divisions, approve their Zeal, who wished to have the Church purged from all the dregs of Popery; and on the other hand commend their Prudence, who would not forsake it for Vestments: and in the same strain they urge those that could not comply; that is, *Sampson* and *Humphryes*, who were the most considerable of that Party. Now it is to be observ'd, that principally mention being made of the Vestments, as the Causes of complaint, had like to have led the foreign Divines into a mistake, as to the nature of our Constitution, as if those were the only things that needed Reforming; which therefore they thought a trifling Controversy, and not worth leaving the Ministry for; as they wrote to the Bishops. The Bishops, pleased with the Answer of the foreign Divines, printed their Letters; and by many, their Judgment in this Affair of the Vestments was

* *Vid.* Burnet, Vol. 3. p. 307.

extended to all other Complaints; and those of the Establishment that were for no further Reformation, triumphed as for a Victory. But to set *Bullinger* and *Gualter* right in their Notions of the matters in Debate, *Sampson* and *Humphryes*, the principal Men in this Affair, wrote to them in *July*, 1565. That the Habits were still matters of Complaint, which they would desire to see rectify'd; that their Answer had not satisfy'd them, that they placed no Religion in these Vestments, but opposed them that did; that they did not desert their Churches, but were driven from them; that they left their Brethren to stand or fall to their own Master, and desir'd the same Forbearance from them: And in conclusion tell them, that there are many other things in the establish'd Church, which they dislike as well as Habits; and gave them a List of several:

- (1.) A Face of Popish Superstitions in Prayers.
- (2.) Organs and Prick-Song.
- (3.) In the Administration of Baptism, the Minister asks the Godfathers in the Name of the Child, the Parent being absent, and then they sign him with the Sign of the Cross.
- (4.) Womens Baptism.
- (5.) Habits worn at Communion, the Communicants oblig'd to receive Kneeling. And,
- (6.) The Habits worn out of Worship.
- (7.) Want of Discipline.
- (8.) Ministers Marriage not allowed by Law.
- (9.) Marriage of the Popish Manner by the Ring.
- (10.) Churching of Women with a Veil.
- (11.) The Management of the Spiritual Courts, where every thing is to be sold; Dispensation for Pluralities, Non-residences, *pro non initiando in Sacris*, for eating Flesh in forbidden Days, such as Lent; Dispensation for Matrimony at forbidden Times.
- (12.) Ministers not allow'd to preach, without Subscriptions to approve all the Ceremonies.
- (13.) The Omission of the Article, that opposes the real Presence.

This Representation gave the Divines of *Zurich* another Apprehension as to the State of the Church. They saw the Corruptions numerous that wanted Reformation, and knew not well how to engage further:

ther: Therefore in their Answer, tho they persevere in the Opinion, that the Habits might be comply'd with, yet they would go no further; they did not approve of any Popish Defilements or Superstitions, nor do they enter into the things of which they do now complain, and of which they knew nothing before: these (they say) were matters of much greater Consequence, than Surplices or Copes; so that they hop'd, their Letters about Habits could not be stretched to these matters.

Bullinger and *Gualter* seeing plainly that the State of the Church needed further Reformation, thought it the most proper Course to leave off Disputing, and by earnest Addresses to their Friends in *England*, press the Cause of a further Reformation. And accordingly, *Sept.* 11, 1566. they wrote to the Earl of *Bedford*, pressing him to find a Temper in these matters; and gave him an account, that they were still in the same mind about the Vestments as before; that they did not think them of such importance as to quit the Ministry for them, but they were sorry to find other matters are excepted against, that plainly favour of Popery: (these were the things mention'd in *Sampson's* Letter wrote in *July* 1565. just mention'd.) They are sorry that their Judgment about Vestments should be extended to other things, which they can by no means approve. They beg of him to intercede for their suffering Brethren, who tho they might offend in some things, deserved Pardon on the account of their Zeal for Religion; since the only thing for which they suffer'd was, that Religion might be purged from the dregs of Popery†. They wrote also to *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Grindal* Bishop of *London*, wherein they are concern'd that their Letter wrote in *May* last, about Habits, had been extended to other things, which they knew not of: It's still their Judgment, that the Church is not to be forsaken for Vestments; but they now hear of other things which the Ministers must comply with, or leave their Stations, (such as those mention'd before, with some others, about which it should appear by the Bishops Answer they were misinform'd) which they did

† *Bp. Burnet's Reformation. Vol. 3. p. 313.*

not approve of it seems. They observe, that it appears to them by the Constitution, that all Ecclesiastical Power is in the Hands of the Bishops, and that Pastors are not permitted to give Judgment in Ecclesiastical Affairs; and at last conclude with earnest Desires that the Bishops would promote the Purity of the Church, and with Prayers for its Peace. This Letter containing Advice of the highest Importance, was answer'd by *Grindal* Bishop of *London*, and *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, in a long Letter, wherein they candidly observe to them some things, about which they were mistaken, concerning the State of the Church; and endeavour to extenuate and excuse other things that were complained of, and at last give their own Judgment with great Freedom and Latitude.

They appeal to God, that this Dissension was not raised by any fault of theirs; that it lay not at their door, that these Vestments were not taken away: they may take their Oaths upon it, that they had used all possible Endeavours in that matter, to obtain that which their Brethren desir'd, and they themselves wish'd for. Then they enter'd upon some particular Corruptions yet remaining; and affirm, that they did not approve of figur'd Musick and Organs, nor of Womens Baptizings: They gave way, till God should give better days, to the Form of asking Sponsors in Baptism in the Child's Name; but they declare openly that they thought it not convenient; nor did they approve of using the Cross in Baptism: They also suffer'd the Posture of Kneeling, with the due Caution prescribed in the Book. As to the Abuses of their Courts, tho they can't correct them intirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them, which they would continue to do, till they should be sent back to Hell, from whence they came. They had labour'd in the last Parliament to purge out all Errors and Abuses; which tho it had not the desir'd Effect, yet they would not give over their Endeavours to bring it to an happy Conclusion. *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury* writing to them next year, lays the Continuance of these things on the Queen's stiffness. The Debates still continued, and she obliges Arch-Bishop *Parker*, Bishop *Grindal*, and some others to bear a little hard upon some of the Non-Conformists; who thereupon wrote
to

to *Bullinger* and *Gualter* to intercede with the Bishops, that if these things could not be taken away, the Omis- sion might be tolerated to them.

Bullinger and *Gualter* wrote Letters of Intercession, as they were desir'd, directed to *Grindal* Bishop of *London*, *Horn* of *Winchester*, and *Parkhurst* of *Norwich*; where- in they express their Sorrow to hear, that Learned Men should be depriv'd and put into Prison, [for their Non- conformity;] That some in *Ireland*, who had the like Scruples, were spar'd thro the Intercession of their Bi- shops; which makes it probable, the like Favour might be obtain'd here, if they would intercede: This, they hop'd, the Bishops would do, since they acknowledg'd it was better for the Church, that these things were laid aside; and affirm, they had oft mov'd the Parliament to have them taken away, that so the Church might be more pure, and less burden'd. They conclude with Hopes that they would endeavour to procure Peace for their Brethren; to which they earnestly, but modestly, press them. This is the Substance of that Correspon- dence that pass'd between our Bishops and the Foreign Protestant Divines; in which we may observe a great deal of good Temper, and good Judgment, in their De- sires to have had the Church reform'd from all Remains and Footsteps of Popery, and Satisfaction given to scrupulous and tender Consciences: but the Stiffness of the Queen, and the Prevalence of Popish Counsels in Par- liament *, and that Fondness for Pomp and Magnifi- cence

* *Strype*, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, gives us a full Proof of the Prevalence of Popish Counsels at the beginning of *Queen Eli- zabeth's* Reign. Vid. *Strype's Parker* Br. c. 7. p. 109. where he tells us the Displeasure the Queen took at the married Clergy, the Archbishop attributed to certain Persons about the Queen, who hated the true Religion, and did it to subvert the Gospel of Christ.

But that which the Archbishop was startled with above the rest, was, that she told him, she had other manner of Injunctions which should follow; as tho she had Thoughts of setting out Injunctions in favour of Popery: for so the Archbishop seem'd to understand the Words, when reflecting on them he wrote to the Secretary, That there would not be wanting those of that contemptible Flock, that would not shrink to offer their Blood in defence of Christ's Verity, &c. and should be sorry the Clergy should be forc'd to shew their

Dis-

cence in Worship among the Generality, hinder'd the Reformation from going any further. In this state things continu'd during the Government of Archbishop *Parker* in the See of *Canterbury*; who dying 1575. was succeeded by Dr. *Grindal*, translated from *York* to *Canterbury*. He was a most Excellent Prelate, and Pious Man; and, having been in Exile himself, he knew the Heart of a Stranger, and carry'd it with great Moderation and Tenderneſs towards thoſe, who deſir'd a further Reformation. In his Time I find one remarkable Attempt made in the Convocation of 1580. about the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and the Abuses of Excommunication, by Lay-Chancellors applying the higheſt Church-Cenſures upon ſlight Occaſions. After ſeveral Debates and Papers, which are in the Appendix of *Grindal's* Life by Mr. *Strype*, this ſeems to be the Expedient propos'd, That the Crimes term'd (*graviora*) ſhould be ſpecify'd by Name, for which Excommunication was to be inflicted.

That as to leſſer Crimes, for which, if a Perſon did not appear when he was ſummon'd, he us'd to be pronounc'd contumacious; and, after that, was excommunicated, and a Writ order'd out *de excommunicato capiendo*: It was propos'd, that Excommunication ſhould not follow the Perſon's being pronounc'd *Contumax*, but a Writ *de contumace capiendo* from the Civil Courts; and that Excommunication, pronounc'd *pro gravioribus criminibus*, ſhould be us'd by the Archbishop or Biſhops with ſuch Aſſiſtance as ſhould be thought meet. This was alſo offer'd in the Convocation of 1587. and promis'd by King *James* in *Hampton-Court* Conference, (*vide infra*) Had this been accompliſh'd, it might have done ſomething to the fulfilling the Church of *England's* Wiſh for Diſcipline, which is in the *Aſh-Wedneſday*-Service: But this fail'd, as other wholeſom Expedients have done.

But a few Years more will give us a different Proſpect of the State of the Church. We muſt now attend thoſe good Biſhops, that had been Exiles, to their Graves, and with them bury moſt of our Hopes of a

Diſobedience, and be forc'd to uſe the Words of the Apoſtle, We muſt obey God rather than Men.

further

further Reformation in this Reign ; for the Church is now headed by *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Bancroft* of *London* : and these having defended the things complain'd against in their private Capacities with their Pens, thought themselves oblig'd to defend them by their Authority, and carry'd the Point of Conformity higher than before, and invented new Articles to be subscrib'd, to lay personal Obligations upon all Ministers, besides the general ones by Law. So that the Cause of a further Reformation seems to lie very desperate ; tho this Alteration of the Case ought to be taken notice of, that by a Course of good Preaching the People became less fond of Relicks of Popery, and were inclin'd to a further Reformation : Many good Bills were offer'd in Parliament : Privy Counsellors solicited for Favour to the Oppress'd. But now they were unhappily suppress'd by the Bishops.

Two unhappy Circumstances, at this time, seem'd to concur.

1. The Greediness of some Courtiers, who seem'd to favour those that desir'd a further Reformation, merely to get some of the Bishops Temporalities into their hands ; which exasperated the Bishops, upon a Political Account, against the Nonconformists.

2. The Pride of the Imposers, who would not admit any Alterations, lest they should seem to confess an Error ; for thus *Fuller* tells us, in his *Church-History* *, That when some Bills were offer'd in the House of Commons for a Regulation of some Ecclesiastical Affairs, *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, acquaints her Majesty, and desires her Authority to put a stop to them ; and, amongst other Considerations urg'd, he intimates, that those Alterations *contain Matter, which tends to the Slander of the Church, as having hitherto maintain'd an Error*. How naturally does the Pride of Man aspire after Infallibility ? How sad is the State of any Church like to be, when its Governors will defend its Errors, rather than acknowledg them ; and it shall be less Shame to support a Corruption, than confess a Mistake ? What an odd Notion had *Whitgift* of human

* Book 9. p. 174.

Nature, as if a Man's present Attainments left no room for further Improvements? Besides, he seems to have forgot the 19th and 21st Articles. The 19th Article, after it has defin'd a particular Church, saith, *That as the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the Church of Rome has erred, not only in their Living and Manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith.* The 21st Article, speaking of General Councils, tells us, *That when they are gather'd together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of Men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred in things pertaining to the Faith.*

But, by what peculiar Privilege I know not, no Reformation must be carry'd on in the Church of *England*, lest she should confess her self to have maintain'd an Error; tho Infallibility is no more assur'd to her than any other Churches or Councils, whom her own Articles pronounce fallible and liable to Errors: and yet this is thought a sufficient Reason to stop any further Reformation.

In this State things continu'd all the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who dying 1602. was succeeded by her Kinsman *James*, the 6th of *Scotland*, and 1st of *England*: at the beginning of whose Reign a fair Opportunity offer'd it self to compleat the Reformation. And here first offers it self that famous Millemane Petition, in the Name of 1000 Divines or more, which is to be seen in *Fuller*, Book 10. p. 21. at large. The Title runs thus; *We the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church.* Afterwards, in the Preamble, they thus describe themselves: *Neither as factious Men, affecting a popular Parity, nor as Schismatics, aiming at the Dissolution of the State Ecclesiastical; but as the Faithful Servants of Christ, and Loyal Subjects of your Majesty, desiring a Redress of Abuses, we could do no less than acquaint your Majesty with our particular Grievs.*

The Heads complain'd of, are such as had been mention'd before.

This serious and pathetick Request is suppos'd to give Birth to the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, between the Bishops and Doctors of the Establish'd Church, on the
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one hand, and those who desir'd a further Reformation; on the other: the King was Moderator. Here little was done for the Satisfaction of Complainers: however, it may not be improper,

(1.) To make some Observations on the common Account, publish'd by Dr. *Barlow*.

(2.) To mention some things omitted by him, serving to illustrate the Matter.

1. It is to be observ'd, That the Account of this Conference is publish'd by Dr. *Barlow* with great Partiality; Dr. *Reynolds* was one of the greatest Divines of the Age, and yet, in the Account of this Conference, is represented as one of the poorest Disputants that ever appear'd. But *Barlow* himself, when a dying (as we are told by one *Henry Jackson*) acknowledg'd he had abus'd *Reynolds* by the Report; and *Sparks*, who was present on the side of the Puritans, tho afterwards he wholly conform'd, affirms the same. They that would see these Accounts prov'd, must consult *Pierce* against *Nichols*, p. 59. *Hickman's* Epistolary Debate with *Heylin*, p. 28, 29. *Hickman's* Vindication of the Nonconformists against *Scrivener* and *Durel*, p. 180. & seq.

2. It appears, That the King would not suffer the Ministers, desirous of a further Reformation, to dispute the imposing Power; which is the main Hinge of this Controversy: For, if Christ has not invested any Man, or Number of Men, with Power to make new Laws in his Church, or impose Ceremonies and Rites on those that scruple them, the whole Fabrick of Ceremonies falls to the ground. And this the King would not suffer to be disputed; but when Mr. *Knewstubs* offer'd to touch upon it, the King stop'd him, and would not suffer him to speak any more to that Point, how far they were bound to obey.

3. We may observe, That as the things alter'd were very inconsiderable, so some things, which the King promis'd to take care about, were never amended; particularly the great Grievance of the Bishops Courts. At the beginning of the Conference, the King declares himself dissatisfy'd, that Excommunications were issu'd out on such trifling Occasions; and that Laymen, and not some grave Minister should do it, or the Bishops. What Satisfaction his Majesty had upon this Head, I know not; but when Dr. *Reynolds*, in the Body of the

Conference, urg'd this as a Grievance, the King told him, that he had confer'd with the Bishops, and such Order should be taken about it as was convenient: but it appears in Fact, that no Order was taken at all; Men were still given to the Devil for twelve-penny Matters, and this by Lay-Chancellors, and other Officers, unknown to Scripture, or the first Ages of the Church.

But, (2.) It is proper to mention some Passages omitted by *Barlow*; which we are able to do from Mr. *Patrick Galloway's* Account, sent to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and corrected by King *James's* own Hand, as a true, tho short Account. Vid. *Calderwood's* History of the Reformation in *Scotland*; p. 474. and onwards, we have this Account: He tells them, he gave their Letter to the King, and after some short Speeches had upon a Word in your Letter, [the gross Corruption of the Church] which was then expounded, and I assur'd that all Corruptions dissonant from the Word, or contrary thereto, should be amended; the 12th of *January* the Bishops were call'd upon by his Majesty, and were gravely desir'd to advise upon all Corruptions in Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Discipline, as they will answer it to God in Conscience, or to his Majesty upon their Obedience; that they should return the third Day. On that Day they return'd, and answer'd, they found all well: and when his Majesty, with great Fervency, brought Instances to the contrary, they, with great Earnestness, upon their Knees, crav'd, that nothing might be alter'd, lest Popish Recusants, punish'd by the Statutes for their Disobedience, and Puritans, punish'd by Deprivation from Calings and Livings for Nonconformity, should say, they had cause to insult them, as Men who had travail'd to bind them to that which by their own Mouths was now confess'd to be erroneous. Thus, by a most dishonourable Resolution, they prefer their own Fame and Reputation to the Peace of the Church; and because they have once oppress'd them, will always do so, rather than seem to own themselves fallible Men. After this Account, follows a Paper of what *Galloway* says his Majesty would have alter'd; in which there are some things, in regard to the Bishops Courts, that are observable:

(1.) That the Bishops shall judg no Ministers, but with the Assistance of some of the gravest Deans and Chaplains.

(2.)

(2.) That none shall have Power to excommunicate, but Bishops in their Diocess, and in the Presence of those aforesaid ; and only for weighty Causes.

(3.) The Civil Excommunication now-us'd, is declar'd to be a mere Civil Censure, and the Name of it is to be alter'd, and a Writ out of the Chancellery to punish the Contumacy shall be fram'd. But all this Conference came to nothing ; nor was it likely, that a Debate with such Men, who had drawn a weak King over to their Interest, and who were resolv'd to continue in their Errors, rather than confess themselves fallible, should ever turn to much account.

In this state things continu'd till about 1640. when Archbishop *Laud*, at the Head of the Convocation, carry'd the Church-Power extreme high, and drew up a Number of Canons to be obligatory both on Clergy and Laity ; tho they had no Legal Confirmation. This gave a general Alarm and Disgust, and brought on such a Series of Events as necessarily requires the Proceedings of this Convocation to be a little remark'd *.

The Convocation sitting after the Parliament was dissolv'd, several Divines, to the Number of 36, protested against its Continuance, but were at last persuaded to stay, hoping to moderate Proceedings by their Presence, but in vain ; things were carry'd extreme high, Superconformity and Innovation encourag'd.

But that which gave the greatest Distaste, was the famous Oath, known by the Name of the *Et-cetera Oath* ; whereby, in short, Persons were sworn never to alter a Constitution, wherein were many things administering Matter of Complaint to many wise and good Men from the beginning of its being set up ; which they who set it up declar'd, they hop'd others would improve, and carry farther : and being only the Result of human Prudence, and fallible Men, the like human Prudence might see Cause to alter the Matters, desir'd to be at any time alter'd ; they not being things necessary and essential to the Being of a Church, but confessedly indifferent. The framing this Oath gave a general Disgust, and the endeavouring to impose these Canons, without

* Vid. *Fuller's Book*, p. 11.

Legal Authority, rais'd so great a Dissatisfaction, that another Convocation being next year summon'd, Mr. *Warmiste* (I suppose one of the 36 that protested before) mov'd, that, according to the *Levitical* Law, they should cover the Pit they had open'd, by condemning themselves those offensive Canons: but this found no Acceptance. However, the Disgust against them growing every day more apparent, reviv'd the Attempt for a further Reformation; which was thought to have receiv'd a mortal Wound by that Oath, and those Canons: but about *March* 20. 1641. the Lords appointed a Committee of Religion, consisting of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons; and, after that, a Sub-committee, to prepare Matters for their Cognizance. The Bishop of *Lincoln*, having the Chair in both, was authoriz'd to call together divers Bishops and Divines, who were to consult for Correction. Those, that chiefly attended, were Archbishop *Usher*, Bishops of *Durham* and *Exeter*, Drs. *Ward*, *Twiss*, *Prideaux*, *Sanderson*, *Featly*, *Brownrigge*, *Hacket* and *Burgefs*, Mr. *White*, *Marshall*, *Calamy* and *Hill*. And here I shall insert the † Substance of two Papers: The 1st, a Paper agreed upon by all of them, being *Considerations upon many Innovations in Doctrine, and things that need Reformation*. 2d, Archbishop *Usher's* *Reduction of Episcopacy*.

1st, These Divines, who met after several Consultations, drew up a Paper, wherein they complain'd,

1. Of several Innovations in Doctrine, encourag'd in these times; some warping towards Popery, and others towards other Errors: and they complain'd of some dangerous Books, permitted to go about.

2. They complain'd of many Innovations in Discipline, many Instances of Superconformity, which were much encourag'd in Archbishop *Laud's* Administration, [when there was a plain Design to reconcile us to the Popish Church:] such as turning the Holy Table Altar-wise, and bowing towards it, or the East; Candlesticks upon the Altar; advancing Crucifixes and Images upon the Parafront, or Altar-Cloth; with many others, to the Number of 21 (all which were done with the same View,

† Vid. *Baxter's* Life.

that by introducing a pompous ceremonious way of Worship, the Difference between us and the *Romish* Church might appear less discernable.) Then these Divines propose *Considerations in order to remedy these Inconveniencies, and other Inconveniencies crept in; such as to amend the Rubrick about Vestments; to cast out Apocryphal Lessons, to clear the Rubrick; how far a Minister may repulse a scandalous Person from the Communion; to explain the Rubrick about kneeling, to be a Compliance with the Prayer the Minister makes as he delivers the Element.* They propose a discreet Rubrick, to take away all Scandal in the Use of the Cross in Baptism; or, if it seem more expedient, to take it away, because in the *Antient Liturgies* no Cross was consign'd upon the Party, but where Oil was us'd; and therefore Oil being now omitted, so may the Sign of the Cross, which was concomitant with it: with other Heads, to the Number of 35.

About this time Archbishop *Usher*, one of the aforementioned Divines, drew up his Paper ||, publish'd after, with this Title: *A Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government, receiv'd in the Antient Church; propos'd in the Year 41. as an Expedient for the Prevention of those Troubles, which afterwards did arise about the Matter of Church-Government.* The Substance of the Paper was as follows:

1. That in every Parish the Incumbent, with the Church-wardens, may every Week take notice of such as live scandalously in the Congregation, who are to receive such Admonitions and Reproofs as the Quality of their Offence shall deserve. And if by this they cannot be reclaim'd, they may be presented unto the next monthly Synod; and in the mean time be debar'd by the Pastor from the Sacrament.

2. That a Number of *Choro-Episcopi*, or Suffragans, who were appointed by a Statute in the 26th of *Henry VIII.* and reviv'd by the 1st of *Queen Elizabeth*, might meet monthly in a Synod of the Pastors, or Ministers within the Precinct, and conclude all Matters in Debate by the Majority. To this Synod the Rectors and Church-

|| Vid. Dr. Calamy's *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life*, Vol. 1. p. 45.

wardens might present such impenitent Persons, as by Admonition, and Suspension from the Sacrament, would not be reform'd: which Persons, if they remain'd incorrigible, might be excommunicated by the Synod; which Excommunication was to be executed against them in the Parish where they liv'd. Hither might be refer'd Matters relating to the Doctrine and Conversation of Ministers themselves, as also the Censure of new Opinions, Heresies and Schisms, which arise within that Circuit, with Liberty of Appeal to the Diocesan Synod.

3. The Diocesan Synod to be held once or twice a Year, as it should be thought most expedient; wherein all the Suffragans and Rectors, or any certain Number out of each Deanery, might meet: with whose Consent, or the major part, all things might be concluded by the Bishop, or in his Absence, by one of the Suffragans, whom he should depute Moderator. Here all Matters of great moment might be taken into Consideration; the Orders of monthly Synods revis'd, and, if need be, alter'd, with an Appeal to the National Synod or Provincial.

4. The National Synod might consist of all the Bishops and Suffragans, and such of the Clergy as should be chosen within the Province; the Primate, or some Bishop appointed by him, should be Moderator; and all Matters order'd by common Consent, and joining with the Parliament, all Ecclesiastical Constitutions, that concern the National Church, might be establish'd. [N. B. This was the Paper offer'd by the Dissenters to the Bishops in 1662. as the means of an Accommodation, but refus'd.] 'Twas hop'd, the Consultations of these Divines in 41 would have produc'd some good Effects; but the Court-Bishops expected no Good, but suspected, as Fuller says †, *lest the Doctrinal Puritans should join with the Disciplinary Puritans, and betray the Church.* But that which put a stop to all, was the Bill that suppress'd the Deans and Chapters.

Presently after, thro much struggling, another Bill pass'd, which shut the Bishops out from voting in Parliament. Now this is to be observ'd, that the *Bishops*

† Vid. Fuller, *Book 11. p. 175.*

and *Cathedralists* had made themselves so obnoxious to the *Parliament* and the *People*, by their *Affectation* of *Domination* over their *Consciences* in the last *Convocation*; and by the manifest *Increase* of *Superstition*, and *Encouragement* of *Superconformity*, and a verging towards *Popery*, under the *Direction* of *Archbishop Laud*: that they could not stand their *Ground*, even in a *Parliament* where there was scarce a *Man* but who was in full *Communion* with the *Establiſh'd Church*; and all this above a year before the *War* was attempted, and before there was any such thing as a *Presbyterian Church* in *England*. And those, who the Year after manag'd the *War*, and headed the *Armies* upon the account of *Liberty*, against the *Tyrannical Incroachment* of the *King* and his *Ministers*, were *Members* of the *Establiſh'd Church*; as those were, who made the like *Noble Stand* at the *Revolution*.

But to proceed: The next remarkable Period I shall touch on, was the *Calling* of the *Assembly of Divines*, who, in 1643, met at *Westminster*; for the *Parliament* having determin'd to lay aside the *Convocation*, and *Affairs* of *Religion* coming before them, call'd a *Number* of *Divines* together, to *consult* and *advise* with them; [but who should have no pretence to sit in their own Right.] Of these the *Reader* may see a *List* in *Dr. Calamy's Abridgment*, *Vol. 1. p. 83*.

While this *Assembly* was sitting, came before them the *Solemn League and Covenant*, upon this occasion: When the *Earl of Newcastle* had over-power'd the *Lord Fairfax* in the *North* ||, and the *Queen* brought over many *Popish Soldiers* from *Foreign Parts*, which made the *King's Party* appear formidable; the *Parliament* thought it proper to desire *Aid* of the *Scots*, who consented upon *Condition*, that the *Solemn League and Covenant* be the *Band of Union*: in which the *Subscribers* promise the *Extirpation* of *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *Schism* and *Profaneness*. And here it may be useful to wipe off an *Aspersion* groundlessly cast upon the *Presbyterians*, as if they were *Enemies* to all *Episcopacy*; whereas, at this time, the *Patrons* of *Presbytery* gave sufficient *Evidence* of their *Moderation* to *Episcopacy*, by refusing to sign

|| Vid. *Calamy's Abridgment*, *Vol. 1. p. 80*.

it, till a Parenthesis was inserted, explaining that sort of Episcopacy which they oppos'd. The Prolocutor, Dr. *Burges*, Mr. *Gataker*, and others declar'd, that they were for the *Antient moderate Episcopacy*, where *one stated President, with his Presbytery, govern'd the Church*: But the Species they oppos'd, was *Church-Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans, and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers, depending upon that Hierarchy*.

By this we see the Changes that occur in the Interest of Parties in a little time: That Form of Church-Government, which *Laud* had been with great pains endeavouring to *swear the Nation to*, but about three Years before; is now as freely *sworn down* by this *Solemn League and Covenant*. But, to be even with them, the *Prelates*, in less than twenty Years, *swore down their Covenant*.

From these remarkable and speedy Alterations, I can't forbear observing, how much better it would be, if the several *Parties* would use greater *Moderation* in binding Persons to their *Ecclesiastical Forms*, and making *Men swear backwards and forwards* in defence of their *Opinions and Schemes*, which either *human Prudence* may see *inexpedient*, or *Divine Providence* render *impracticable*. The *Commonness* of such Oaths can have no other Consequence, but bringing their *Sacred Obligation* into *Contempt*, occasion a *Prostitution* of *Mens Consciences*, and bring in the Guilt of a *General Perjury*.

But to return from this Digression: The *Presbyterians* in the *Assembly* gave such a Specimen of their *Moderation* to *Episcopacy*, as may convince all impartial Men of their Willingness to *coalesce upon proper Terms*, at a Time when it was in the *Decline*, and they could have no *Expectations* from it. The *Assembly*, after many Debates, agreed upon a *larger and shorter Catechism*, for the Instruction of Youth; and a *Confession of Faith*: In which perhaps, for an happy Conjunction of Fullness of Matter in so short a Compass, and Soundness of Doctrine in a clear Expression, no Church excels them.

As to their Consultations about *Discipline and Worship*, they are summ'd up in the *Directory*, and may be easily consulted there.

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Their Advice about *Church-Government* never took much effect ; the Interests and Politicks of their *Masters* changing, they *chang'd hands* also, and imploy'd another *Party*, and *encourag'd* them, whose *Scheme* of *Church-Government* was different from that of the *Assembly*. However, it may not be improper to observe some steps they took in *Reformation*, which are very commendable.

1. It is certain they hit an *happy Medium* in their *Directory* for the *Method* and *Manner* of *Prayer* ; viz. a *General Method*, appointed to prevent Tautologies, and needless *Excursions* ; and which would suit the Case of most *Worshipping Assemblies*, and could not but be extremely assistant to young *Ministers*, both in *Matter* and *Method* : and, at the same time, there was a *full Allowance* for the Improvement of their Gifts, in Variety of *Expression*, to whom God had given Ability. For thus they express themselves in the *Preface*, *That for preventing Slothfulness and Negligence in stirring up the Gift of Christ in them, they recommend it, that each one would be careful to furnish his Heart and Tongue with further or other Materials of Prayer and Exhortation, as should be needful on all Occasions.* Now this *Medium* seems not so well answer'd in a *stinted invariable Form* for *Method* and *Words*.

2. It is certain, they made an happy Attempt for the recovering of *Parochial Discipline*, and *Pastoral Authority* ; (which, in some measure, was intended by King *Edward* the VIth ; *Refor. Legum Ecclesiastic.* tho it was not carry'd so far as they did.) And till this be somewhat more recover'd, we may despair of any *General Reformation*. They appointed the *Minister*, with his *Elders* (the same that are mention'd in King *Edward's* Laws) to be the *Judges* of the *Admission* or *Exclusion* of *Church-Members* ; who are certainly the properest *Judges*, as being most conversant in the *Parish*, and acquainted with the *Affair*. But, to carry the *Matter*, as now it is, to the *Lay-Chancellor*, and the *Gentlemen* of the *Court*, whose *Profession* and ordinary *Study* is that of the *Civil Law*, and that the *inferior Clergy* should be oblig'd to publish their *Excommunications* and *Absolutions*, and submit to their *Judgment* as to *Fitness* or *Unfitness* of *Church-Members* ; is so gross an *Imposition*, that I am

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But I pass on to another Period, which commences with the *Restoration* of K. Charles, who in a *Declaration*, which he sent over from *Breda* in *April 1660.* thus expresses himself; *That he declares Liberty to tender Consciences, that none shall be disquieted, and call'd in question for Differences in Opinion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom.* Upon his Arrival in the Kingdom, *Conferences* were set on foot for an *Union* of his *Protestant Subjects*: And at last, *October 25. 1660.* comes out another *Declaration*; wherein he tells the World, that the *Presbyterian Ministers*, that had been with him in *Holland*, were neither *Enemies* (as they had been given out to be) of *Episcopacy*, or *Liturgy*, but modestly desire such *Alterations* in either, as without shaking the *Foundation* might best allay the present *Distempers*. His *Concessions* were these:

1. That no Bishop should ordain, or exercise any part of his Jurisdiction, which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters; and neither do nor impose any thing, but what was according to the known Laws of the Land.

2. That Chancellors, Commissaries and Officials should be excluded from Acts of Jurisdiction.

3. The Power of Pastors in their Congregations restor'd, a Liberty granted to Ministers to assemble monthly for the Exercise of Pastoral Persuasive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge and Godliness in their Flocks.

4. That Ministers should be freed from the Subscription requir'd by the Canons, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and enjoy the Profits of their Living, without being oblig'd to it. And that the scrupled Ceremonies should be dispens'd with.

These Concessions they wou'd have receiv'd with Joy, and as Dr. Bates saith, * *Would have prevented those doleful Divisions as have since hapned.* But when it was mov'd to pass into a Law, it was oppos'd by one of the Secretaries, which was look'd upon as a Proof that the King had chang'd his Mind.

* Vid. Baxter's Funeral Sermon.

In 62. follow'd the *Debates* of the *Savoy*, which came to nothing ; the Bishops would yield nothing, and the Court was acted by *Popish Counsels*, which (saith Dr. Nichols) † were discover'd too late. The Nonconformists were finally driven out of the Church, the Terms of Conformity made higher than formerly ; for to the old Conformity they added the *Renunciation* of the solemn League and Covenant, and they were oblig'd to declare, that they thought it neither oblig'd them nor any one else.

They clogg'd it also with the absurd and enslaving Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Nonresistance* ; which after it had been preach'd up for 28 Years, till the Nation had like to have been ensnar'd by it to Popery and Slavery, in the Reign of King James the Second, was nobly broke thro at the Revolution, and silently dropt out of the Terms of Conformity. But that which was the most unparallel'd Hardship in this new Conformity, was, their being turn'd out for not assenting to a Book, of which few or none cou'd get a Sight of an attested Copy.

For whereas there were several Alterations between this and the former Book, and all new printed Copies were oblig'd to correspond with the Original deliver'd into Parliament ; to procure which, a Number of Commissioners were appointed, to inspect the printed Copies, and declare them Authentick : the Book was so late before it was finish'd in printing, that the Commissioners had not finish'd their Review, so as to disperse Authentick Books, to be subscrib'd, till the Time was † lapsed. Being laid aside in 62. they waited till Providence gave a time for the Accomodation of Differences, to the Satisfaction of their Consciences : Many Attempts were made, and moderate Men on both Sides cou'd have agreed ; but the Men of Bigotry and Passion wou'd not bear it. Dr. Wilkins, and my Lord Orrery offer'd them one in 68. much upon the Principles of King Charles's Declaration ; but the Parliament would not pass it.

Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Stillingfleet on the one hand, and Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Pool on the other, agreed on a Scheme upon the like Principles

* Vide Apparat. Historic. p. 61.

† Vide Robinson's Review against Benner.

in the Year 1673. These may be seen in Mr. *Baxter's* Life.

The Danger of the *Popish Plot* awaken'd most Men, and then a *Bill* was brought into the House of Commons, and read twice. The Heads are in Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment Vol. 1. p. 350. which, with a little *Relief* about the *Spiritual Courts*, wou'd have done. But these, as more private Offers, I pass by ; and come to the last Effort for a further Reformation : which was after the late happy Revolution, under the Conduct of King WILLIAM of Immortal Memory ; at which time, the Aspects of Providence, and the common Danger into which all Protestants were cast, seem'd to bring their Temper together.

The Project was first laid by Archbishop *Sancroft* in King *James's* time, who foresaw the Revolution, as the Bishop of *Lincoln* told us at *Sacheverel's* Tryal : However, it was seriously pursu'd in King *William's* time, but thro the Passions and Jealousies of Men came to nothing. The fullest Account we have in Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment, Vol. 1. whither I refer my Reader.

The Scheme was this, which would have taken in three Parts in four of the Dissenters.

1. That the *Apocryphal Lessons* be thrown out.
2. That a Rubrick be appointed, explaining the Use of the Cross, not as an essential Part, but as a fit and decent Ceremony : However, after all, if any scruple it, it may be omitted by the Priest.
3. If any scruple to kneel, it may be administred to them in their Pews.
4. If any desire to have Godfathers and Godmothers omitted, and the Children presented in their own Names to Baptism, it may be granted ; the improper Expressions chang'd in the Liturgy for unexceptionable ones. This, with the Allowance in the Point of Orders by Presbyters, as was in the 13th of *Eliz.* (or a conditional Imposition and Benediction as was customary, when Clerks were admitted in the Primitive Church that had been ordain'd by Hereticks) wou'd have done.

Thus have I given a short History of the several Attempts, and have I hope fully prov'd my main Proposition, viz. That those Divines, who engaged in the first Reformation, did not intend their Endeavours as the Standard of fu-

future Ages, beyond which they might not go ; but that the *Darkness and Bigotry of the People, newly recover'd from Popery, necessitated them to stop where they did, and connive at many things they did not approve of, and that they earnestly wish'd for better Times, when they seriously intended a further Reformation : and that the very same Design has been the Desire and Wish of some of the wisest and best of Men of the establish'd Church ever since, who have yet been disappointed by Popish Counsels, and groundless Fears and Jealousies fomented and spread by Men of Bigotry and Passion. And I have shewn, that several Schemes have been formed by these good Men in the Establish'd Church, which wou'd have gone a great Way towards ending our Divisions.*

What the Effect of this impartial Representation will be, I know not : but this I can assure the World, that it would be the most agreeable Sight to me, to see the Constitution and Foundation of the Church so enlarg'd and settled, as that nothing more might be requir'd to make a Man, either a Member or Minister in her Communion, than Christ has requir'd to make a Man a Member or Minister in his Church universal ; according as the best human Prudence can apply his general Rules to particular Cases : Then would she truly be the Glory of the Reformation, the Perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the whole Earth.

But if we are not yet so happy as to see those things that belong to our Peace and Union, but must be in our present Circumstances ; let us study, by the Peaceableness of our Behaviour towards them that differ from us, to disappoint the Designs of the common Enemies, who have found their Advantage by playing us one against another. Let us vie with each other in promoting the common Interest of our common Lord ; in Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty King GEORGE ; and in brotherly Love and Charity one to another. In short, so far as we have attain'd and are agreed, let us mind the same things ; and in whatsoever things we are differently minded, let us maintain Christian Charity and mutual Forbearance, till God shall reveal the Truth to us : Always remembering this, that notwithstanding the Difference of our Opinions about lesser Matters, yet the good Men of both Communions will, when they arrive at Heaven, be equally acceptable to God, and beloved of one another ; and should therefore

fore study to be as fully reconcil'd as they can to one another here.

I shall conclude with that excellent *Collect*, in the new *Form of Prayers* for imploring God's Blessing on the Counsels and Arms of his Majesty King GEORGE, in order to the disappointing the evil Designs of his and our Enemies, and the settling these Kingdoms in Peace.

O Lord of Hosts and God of Peace, thou hast taught us, by thy Holy Word, that where there is Strife and Envy, there is Confusion, and every evil Work: Have pity upon this Church and Nation, violently rent in sunder by Faction and Discord: unite our Hearts, we beseech thee, in true Love to thee, and fervent Charity one toward another; lest by being divided amongst our selves, we be brought to Desolation: and incline our Hearts to the things that belong to our Peace, before they be hidden from our Eyes. Grant this we humbly pray thee, for the sake of him who loved us, and gave himself for us, Jesus Christ our Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

7 JUGG

F I N I S.



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